

N A T O U N C L A S S I F I E D

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1st October 1981

POLADS(81)38

MEMORANDUM

To: Political Committee
From: Chairman of the Expert Group

EXPERT WORKING GROUP ON THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
(20th-22nd October 1981)

Attached for the information of the experts taking part in the meeting of the Working Group on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is a calendar of events in this area during the period 3rd March to 28th September 1981.

2. This calendar of events will be attached to the experts' report.

(Signed) M. LEVEQUE

This document includes: 1 Annex

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EXPERT WORKING GROUP ON THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE
CALENDAR OF EVENTS
(3rd March to 28th September 1981)

March 1981

- 3rd March: Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress, inaugurated on 23rd February, ends without any changes in the leadership.
- 4th March: Fringe meeting between Soviet and Polish leaders at the twenty-sixth CPSU Congress: Moscow demands that Warsaw return to the status quo ante. Legal action taken shortly afterwards in Warsaw against Mr. Kuron and Mr. Michnik, KOR leaders and advisers to Solidarity.
- 6th March: International Labour Office invites Moscow to accept creation of independent trade unions.
- 14th March: Soviet Union reported to have destroyed a target satellite with a filler satellite for the first time.
- 16th March: Start of "Soyuz 81" military manoeuvre by the Warsaw Pact in Poland and in the neighbouring countries (USSR, Czechoslovakia, GDR).
- 19th/20th March: Visit by German Foreign Minister Genscher to Warsaw.
- 19th March: Following physical assaults by police on trade unionists inside the préfecture building at Bydgoszoz, Solidarity orders "preparations for a general strike" throughout Poland and demands the dismissal of the culprits.
- 20th March: Washington warns Moscow against any intervention in Poland.
- 22nd March: Breakdown of negotiations between the government and Solidarity following police violence in Bydgoszcz. Announcement by Mr. Rakowski of the extension of the "Soyuz 81" manoeuvres.

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- 24th March: Declaration of Poland published by the Ten in Maastricht.
- 26th March: More student unrest in Pristina, Kosovo.
- 26th March: Major government reshuffle in Rumania.
- 27th March: Warning strike launched by Solidarity. New warning to Moscow and Warsaw by Washington.
- 29th/30th March: Ninth Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee. The hardliners defeated by those in favour of compromise. Signature of an agreement between Solidarity and the government.
- 31st March: Solidarity National Committee approves the agreement with the government and withdraws order for a general strike.
- 30th/31st March: Visit by Mr. Jagielski, Polish First Deputy Prime Minister, to Paris: aid for Poland the main topic of the talks.
- 31st March/4th April: Twelfth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Mr Jivkov given the title of "Secretary General".
- 1st/2nd April: Renewed wave of disturbance and proclamation of a state of emergency in Kosovo.
- 2nd/3rd April: Visit of German Foreign Minister to Moscow.
- 6th/10th April: Sixteenth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, attended by Mr. Brezhnev. Mr. Husak declares that it is "the business of all the States in the Socialist community to defend the Socialist system."
- 7th April: Speech by Mr. Brezhnev in Prague contains no direct reference to possible intervention by Warsaw Pact forces. He states inter alia: "it must be assumed that the Polish Communists will successfully uphold the cause of Socialism".
- 7th April: Announcement of the end of the "Soyuz 81" manoeuvres.

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- 8th April: Quarrel between Yugoslavia and Albania rekindled by the Kosovo riots.
- 10th April: Polish Diet asked by General Jaruzelski to ban strikes for two months.
- 11th/16th April: United Socialist Party Congress in the GDR.
- 14th April: Mr. Weinberger, US Secretary of Defence, makes the start of United States-Soviet negotiations on arms limitation conditional on a substantial reduction in the Soviet military presence on the Polish border and inside Poland.
- 15th April: Meeting at Torun of a ginger group consisting of PUWP members belonging to the new "horizontal structures".
- 16th April: Preparatory Committee for the Ninth Congress adopts draft reform of Party statutes designed to introduce a greater measure of democracy.
- 17th April: Polish Government signs an agreement at Bydgoszcz constituting recognition of the independent farmers union, "Rural Solidarity".
- 22nd April: Speech by Mr. Tchernienko in Moscow criticizing the United States attitude in the Polish crisis.
- 23rd April: Visit by Mr. Suslov to Warsaw; communiqué issued after the talks no longer calls on the Polish leaders to "reverse the course of events".
- 24th April: Lifting of the United States embargo on grain sales to the USSR.
- 27th April: Meeting in Paris of Poland's Western creditors: Poland wins an eight-year extension for debt repayments falling due in 1981.
- 28th April: Arrest of about 30 people in Czechoslovakia for subversive activities.
- 29th April: Tenth Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee follows Mr. Kania in calling for more democracy within the Party (elections by secret ballot, ban on holding more than one post, term of office limited to two consecutive terms).

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May 1981

- 5th May: Resignation of Mr. Mahmut Bakali, No. 1 figure in the League, following criticism over the April unrest by the Kosovo LYC Central Committee.
- 9th May: Speech by Mr. Brezhnev at Kiev proposing an "open-ended dialogue" to the United States.
- 11th May: Registration by the Warsaw Administrative Tribunal of Rural Solidarity, the independent farmers union.
- 11th May: Suspension by Kosovo of its agreement on co-operation with Albania.
- 13th May: Signature in Moscow of a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and the Congo.
- 15th May: "Pravda" article describes Solidarity's programme as "unacceptable".
- 15th May: "Katowice Forum", comprising Polish Party extremists, launches fierce attack on the Party leadership for "its lack of firmness towards the counter-revolution".
- 19th/21st May: Official visit to Prague by Mr. Ceaucescu.
- 28th May: Death of Cardinal Wyszynski in Warsaw.

June 1981

- 5th June: Liberation by Warsaw of political prisoners. "Katowice Forum" suspends its activities "in compliance with the principles of democratic centralism".
- 5th/7th June: Sudden hardening of attitudes in Poland: Mr. Rakovski delivers sharp attack against Solidarity; rumours of a very strongly worded message from Moscow to the Polish leadership: emergency meeting of the Party Central Committee called for 9th June.
- 9th/10th June: Meeting of PUWP Central Committee to examine the CPSU Central Committee ultimatum of 5th June, Mr. Kania sticks to his policy despite sharp attacks from the conservative wing.

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- 15th June: Visit to Moscow by Belgian Foreign Minister.
- 16th June: In Bulgaria, Mr. Stanko Todorov, Prime Minister since 1971, is relieved of his duties and replaced by Mr. Gricha Filipov, a member of the Politburo and Central Committee.
- 23rd June: Spring session of the Supreme Soviet: call for peace by Mr. Brezhnev.
- 25th June: Soviet-Polish military manoeuvres in Silesia.
- 29th/30th June: Visit by Mr. Willy Brandt to Moscow.
- July 1981
- 2nd/4th July: COMECON meeting in Sofia.
- 3rd July: Ratification by the Polish Diet of the government reshuffle proposed by the Prime Minister.
- 3rd/5th July: Visit by Mr. Gromyko to Warsaw: according to the joint communiqué: "Poland was, is and will remain a firm link in the Socialist community.
- 7th July: Mgr. Glemp appointed new Primate of Poland.
- 14th/20th July: Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP with attendance confined to delegations from member countries of COMECON or countries with observer status.
- 16th July: Election by secret ballot, for the first time in a Peoples' Democracy, of a new Central Committee and of Review and Control Committees.
- 18th July: Re-election of Mr. Kania by direct secret ballot.
- 21st July: Death of Ludmilla Jivkova, daughter of the Bulgarian CP's First Secretary and a leading member of the Politburo.

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23rd July: Mr. Brezhnev begins a series of talks with leaders of East European countries.

31st July: Government reshuffle: Mr. Jagielski leaves the government which includes four serving generals.

August 1981

3rd/5th August: New wave of demonstrations in Warsaw against food shortages.

6th August: Heightening of tension in Poland. Negotiations between Solidarity and the government broken off.

7th August: Announcement of Mr. Kania's illness. Major Soviet naval manoeuvres in the Baltic.

8th August: Visit to Poland by Marshal Kulikov, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact forces.

11th August: Plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee. The Polish Party affirms "that it will firmly oppose anti-Socialist and counter-revolutionary threats".

14th August: Mr. Kania and Mr. Jaruzelski meet Mr. Brezhnev in the Crimea.

18th August: Meeting in Bavaria of the West German and Polish Foreign Ministers.

21st August: Agreement "in general" on the rescheduling of Poland's commercial debt drawn up in Zurich on 22nd July.

26th August: Arrest in Moscow of Mr. Ivan Kovalev, a member of the Helsinki Monitoring Group. (Only three members of this group are still at liberty: Mrs. Bonner-Sakharev, the lawyer Kalestratova and Professor Nahum Meeman).

30th August: Bulgarian-Yugoslav frontier incident.

September 1981

1st September: Turn of the ideological screw in Hungary. "Partelet", the monthly publication of the Hungarian Party Central Committee, insists that the latter will not tolerate "points of view which are hostile" to the régime.

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- 4th September: Writer Anatoli Marchenko sentenced by the Vladimir court to 10 years in a labour camp followed by 5 years detention for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation".
- 4th/12th September: Military manoeuvres in the Baltic Republics, in Bielo-Russia and in the Baltic.
- 5th September: Opening in Gdansk of the Solidarity Congress.
- 10th September: Conclusion of the first part of the Solidarity Congress.
 - adoption of a declaration calling, inter alia, for free elections to Parliament and an ending of the Nomenklatura system;
 - adoption of an address to activists for free trade unions in the Eastern countries;
 - Tass condemnation of "anti-Socialist orgy".
- 12th September: Visit by US Secretary of State Haig to Belgrade.
- 12th September: End of military manoeuvres and speech by Marshal Ustinov, Soviet Defence Minister, accusing the West of interference in Poland's affairs and of attempting to undermine the system in the Socialist countries.
- 15th September: Expulsion of the Soviet Ambassador to Egypt.
- 16th September:
 - PUWP Politburo communiqué demanding a change of policy by Solidarity
 - statement from the Praesidium of the Solidarity National Co-ordination Committee refusing "to play the provocation game".
- 17th September: Moscow ultimatum to Warsaw. Message from Soviet Central Committee handed to Mr. Kania by Mr. Aristov, the Soviet Ambassador. Message reproaches Polish authorities with tolerating "malicious anti-Soviet propaganda and actions hostile to the USSR" in direct contradiction with Poland's commitments as an ally and calling for an "immediate" end to this state of affairs.

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- 18th September: Condemnation by the US State Department of Soviet interference in Poland.
- 22nd September: Arrival in Warsaw of a Soviet economic delegation led by Mr. Baibakov.
- 22nd September: Mr. Olszowski, an influential member of the PUPP Politburo, in a televised speech, proposes the creation of a national front comprising the Communist Party, the Church and Solidarity.
- 23rd September: Meeting between Mr. Haig and Mr. Gromyko in New York.
- 23rd September: Visit to Moscow by Mr. Lambsdorff, the German Minister for Economic Affairs.
- 25th September: Meeting between Mr. Cheysson and Mr. Gromyko in New York.
- 26th September: Opening in Gdansk of the second part of the Solidarity Congress.
- 28th September: Solidarity Congress, meeting in Gdansk announces the self-disbandment of KOR (Committee set up in 1976 following the Radon events). KOR's mission to be pursued within the framework of Solidarity.

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